1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

[482] 559 556 595 [422] [431] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

595 The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

[601] */Kwi*, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they term each other */gu/na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

● [342] /Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

513 Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] [821] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 833 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

482

1. Women return in the evening after the day's digging and gathering of wild roots and berries

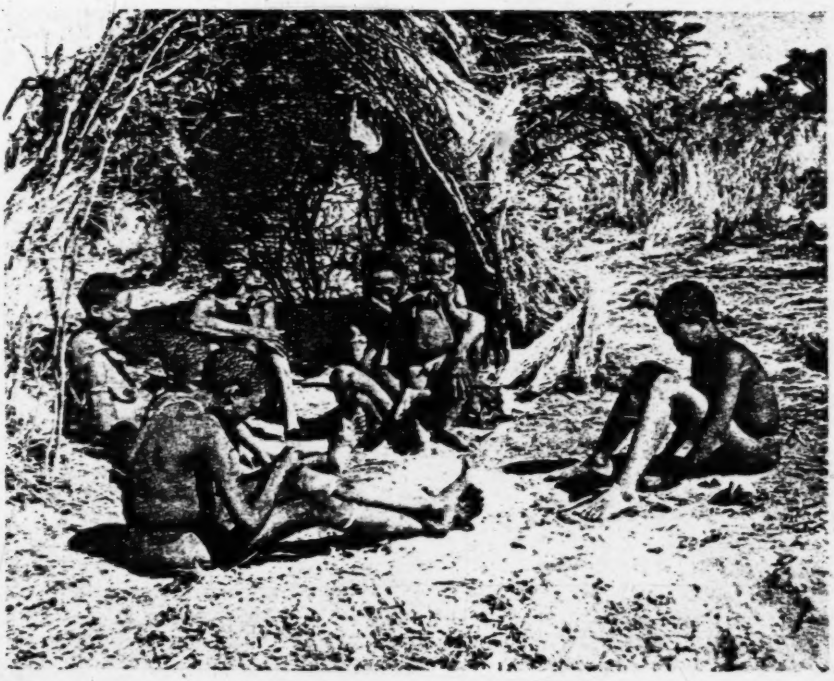
142
291
301
342
516

2. A husband, wife, and their son at their family fire cooking their supper of two wild roots which the wife brought. Her genital apron is a fine one ornamented with beads

[p. 348-A]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

142
342
516



142
301
302

3. Gau (centre) with his two wives in front of their scherm. The younger second wife, Khuan//a, holds her son in her arms. The three boys in front are the sons of Be, the first wife, at Gau's right

4. /Ti/kay in the best of moods

[p. 348-B]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

342
516

142
301

7. The wedding scherm, the morning after the wedding. To the right are /Gunda, the bridegroom, and one of the boys who attended him, playing the //guashi. /Nai is to the left with her two attendants beside her. Tsamgao has gone to sit by the girls instead of remaining on the men's side

8. ≠Toma the leader

[p. 348-D]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 585 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 834 352 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying [342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

159 585 In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I 224 833 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some men believed that once in five nights was best; others [841] thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowna*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

/138 cont./

177 721 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

133 137 182 This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his environment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number, does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

133 In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape. Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry 137 water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates between grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The 132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

● 342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

142
291

Auen

Photo. 13
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

●342

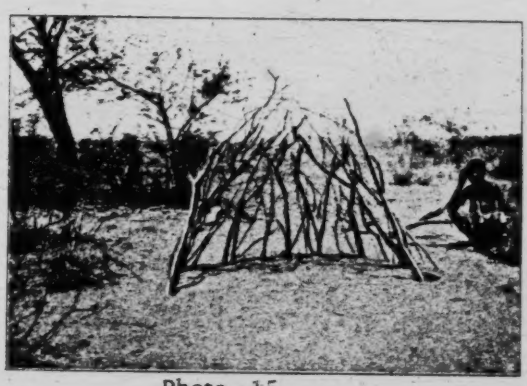


Photo. 15.
Framework of Windscreens.

Photo. 17.
Flimsy Wind-
screen in
the Dry
Season.

142

Auen

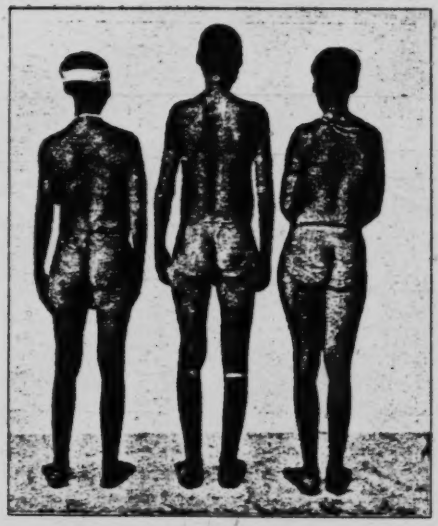


Photo. 14 [see Photo. 13]
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

●342

Photo. 16.
Windscreen Half-covered.

[415]
[516]

Photo. 18.
Windscreen (covered) and Mortar with Pestle.

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from
Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief,
the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung
people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani
and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the
leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother
Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notori-
ous Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

[36 cont.]

Dwellings

342 The dwelling of the Bushman consists of the simple windscreen, semicircular in form and about 150 centimeters high. On [177] several farms, however, even the Bushmen have taken to building [361] beehive huts in the Herero manner. The windscreens in a settle- [378] ment more or less form a circle, and the socha fire is to be found [372] near the windscreen of the village chief. During warm nights the [513] Bushmen do not sleep under the windscreen but outside it.

372

Fig. 3. Sticks for Firemaking, Kalahari Bushmen (Museum of Ethnology, Lurich).

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113]

1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bush-

[285] men in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in South Africa, 1910.)

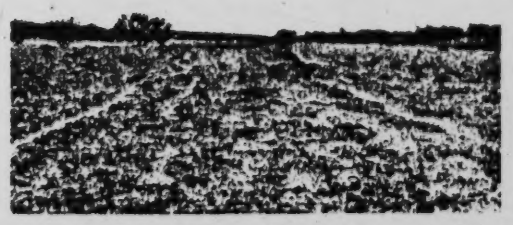
[113]

322 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight
411 little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

3: Lebzelter--160 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!K 0076
133
137

1. !Kung Huts in the Bush Veld.

2. Summer Landscape in the !Kung Veld.



3. The Omuramba u Omatako south of Otjituo.

4. Winter Landscape in the Sand Veld.

Plate II. Landscapes on the !Kung Veld.

3: Lebzelter--161 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

231
291
342
516

Camp of the !Kung along the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

291
516

The author Negotiating with !Kung Bushmen in the Otjimpolo Veld.

Plate III. !Kung

3: Lebzelter--162 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Plate IV. Windscreens and Huts of the !Kung.

/241 cont./

128 Tables giving all the /242/ measurements for each individual, are attached, as are forms for the observations concerning the descriptive characteristics of the individuals measured.

141 The average values for the adults measured are as follows:

	Men	Women
1. Body height	155.3	149.7
2. Height of the chin above the ground	135.7	130.6

[142] [291] [301] [342] [516]

Fig. 1. Heikum Bushmen. Men.

3. Height of the navel above the ground	93.2	90.4
4. Height of the upper edge of the symphysis above the ground.	82.2	79.6
[Fig. 1 appears here.]		
5. Height of the acromion above the ground	130.5	124.9
6. Height of the elbow joint above the ground	99.9	96.5
7. Height of the projection of the radius above the ground	76.0	73.4

FX10 Bushmen FX10
Heikum

/243 cont./	Men	Women
28. Width between the inner corners of the eyes	3.6	3.5
29. Width of the mouth	4.7	4.5
30. Width between the two jaw angles	9.5	8.8
31. Distance from the chin to the root of the nose	9.8	9.6

[291]
[342]

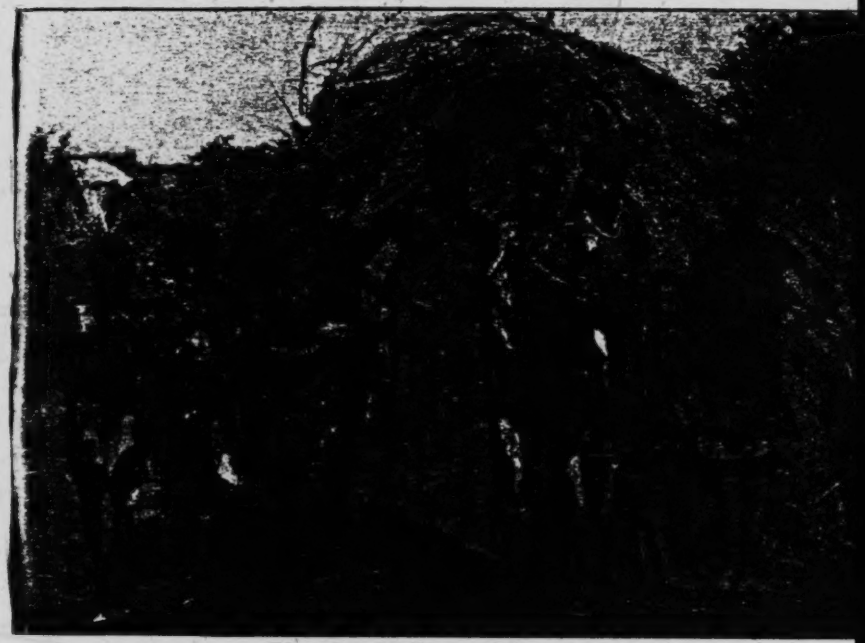


Fig. 2. Heikum Bushmen. Women.

32. Distance from the chin to the hairline	16.6	15.9
33. Length of the nose	4.0	3.9
34. Width of the nose	4.1	3.8
/244/		
35. Distance from the chin to the tragus	13.3	12.3
36. Distance from the root of the nose to the tragus	11.7	11.3
37. Length of the thumb	5.1	5.1
38. Length of the middle finger	8.4	8.2
39. Width of the hand where the fingers join	6.8	6.5
40. Length of the foot	22.6	21.5

/258 cont./

000 which is used for carrying game over the shoulder.

411 Still to be mentioned are the weapons of the Bushmen. These are limited essentially to the bow and arrow. The bow consists of firm, flexible wood which tapers toward the ends.

[283] The bowstring is made by twisting together separated strands of gemsbok tendons.

The arrows have a very peculiar construction. The shaft is a piece of reed approximately 60 centimeters long, which is feathered at the lower end. A piece of eland bone, approximately 15 centimeters long, which has been sharpened to a point on both sides and carefully rounded by filing on stones, is inserted at the upper end of the shaft in such a manner that it can easily be taken out and reversed. The front end of the reed shaft, which is designed for the insertion of the bone arrowhead, /259/ is wrapped with bast in order to give it the necessary resistance. The two ends of the arrowhead are treated differently. The shorter and blunter tip is left free of poison and serves solely for hunting purposes. The
278 longer and more pointed end is covered with a brown, resin-like poisonous mass. It is very difficult to obtain any definite information from the Bushmen concerning the origin of this poison. They shyly evade questions about it.

I was able to ascertain only one fact, namely, that it is obtained by making incisions in the bark of a tree called chi (Herero: otjindombo). The arrowhead is dipped in the sap of the bark and
411 heated over the fire.

In addition to the bow and arrow, one also finds simple, unworked kirris, and -- at least among the Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld -- throwing spears with iron points that are obtained from the Ovambo in trade.

Arrow shafts and arrowheads are carried on the back in separate leather quivers.

They also use simple, feathered wooden arrows with pointed ends for fowl.

● 342 The dwellings are as simple as the whole way of life of the Bushmen. The huts are only a little taller than a man and about three meters in diameter; they are set up by embedding sticks in the ground. These poles, which form the framework, are joined in the center, making a dome shape, and the interstices

/259 cont./

342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that,
at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents con-
siderable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or be-
cause of the water conditions, they not infrequently content them-
selves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full
circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were,
and give only scant protection against the sun.

For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically
147 naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the
cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below O° [centigrade].
[513] Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on
the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air,
a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep
without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bush-
144 men, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the
Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as
is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's
smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation
of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions.
What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the
anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among
the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the lan-
197 guage is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some
grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the
Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present
below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of
the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated,
while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama lan-
guage. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental
[104] click, // the lateral click, ! the cerebral [retroflex] click, and
≠ the palatal click. By ⋮ I designate the sharp opening of the
glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs be-
tween a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the
same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 342 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations.

166 343 When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 312 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

342
137

:Ao //ein Werf.

[p. 88 B]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and consequently they often seem younger than they are. They are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a
353 single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757
562 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Be-
574 fore they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
577 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night, but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to
[181] her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative people, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

142
301
261

Twikwe was a lanky old woman. She sometimes wound a medicine string around her belly to ward hunger away.

This is Gai's house, this bare sand
under the branch of a tree.

342
516
264
412

[p. 112(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

137
621
342

The people from Okwa camped right beside Ukwane; the two werfs were shaded by the same little tree.

[P. 112(H)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

361 We got out and sat with them in their werf to talk before deciding what we would do next. Looking around, we saw that only the two families lived here, for there were only two sleeping-places, set, for the sake of a little privacy, on the opposite sides of one of the scrawny trees. The women had not built huts, but had scooped little hollows for themselves and their husbands which they had lined with soft grass bedding, and had put up two arching sticks at each of these hollows to mark the place where the door would be if a scherm had been there, for the Kung as well as the Gikwe need a sense of place. In fact, the Kung need it even more, for without their grass and marking-sticks the Kung feel homeless. Their sleeping hollows were like the soft grass nests of pheasants, hidden in the leaves.

276 576 The Bushmen all lit pipes and passed them—each pipe reached everybody, everybody shared and smoked, and the pipes circled slowly for an hour or more until the tobacco was gone. There was a brass pipe made of an old cartridge, a bone one, a horn one, and last of all a copper one that tasted very bad. The Bushmen cracked roasted tsi nuts and passed the fat little kernels around to each other, offering them on the 609 palms of their hands. My brother told Toma that he had missed tsi because there was none in America.

"What?" said Toma. "No tsi? Why didn't you plant some?"

"The soil is a little strong for it," said John.

"So."

"But tsi is good."

"No good," said Toma sadly. "I used to be fat. Now I am thin." He stuck out his leg and slapped at it. "Where is my fat?" he said.

He did not seem to be thinner than he used to be, though; he had only a scar on his belly and a scar on his back where

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

521 lifted her head and her face showed in the firelight; her eyes shone quite yellow and she looked dangerous, like a leopard, as she glared in the direction of his voice.

361 On my way home I passed Lazy Kwi's house, which his 342 wife had started in his absence, and as she had planned a large scherm and had already built the framework, many large branches stuck upright in the ground, but had not yet covered it with grass, I could see Lazy Kwi inside. He was between me and his fire, and in silhouette against the red light he looked like a creature in a cage, for he was peering through the lattice of branches to see who was passing by. I stopped 252 to show who I was, and noticed a bird roasting by his fire, a little duck which must have been snared by Lazy Kwi's old father-in-law. It was plucked and trussed and tied to a stick which was pushed into the ground so that the duck hung over the coals. It looked about done to me, so I asked Lazy Kwi, who was obviously alone with it, awake only to tend it, if it wasn't ready, and Lazy Kwi looked first at me, then at the 1805 duck, then up at the sky, and shook his head. He was timing 82 it by a star, he explained, and the star had risen but wasn't high enough yet, so I said good-night and went home and left him in his lattice; and just before I went to sleep I heard great shouts of laughter, for Toma had found someone who hadn't heard the lion story and was telling it again.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

very sleek and prosperous, for they were staggering under loads of food, their bags and nets bulging with tsi and their carrying-poles strung with the meat of the gemsbok. They put down their loads and the women began immediately to make a large and busy werf on the far side of Toma's. In a very short time the werf was built and strewn with food and objects, and the people sitting among their possessions looked so comfortable and settled that one would never have thought that they had just arrived.

The old woman, Short Kwi's mother-in-law, did cry when she found her daughter gone. She squatted sadly on the ground and wiped her tears from her wrinkled, dusty cheeks with her fingers. All her relatives, clustered around her, trying to comfort her, telling her that, after all, her daughter would return, that she herself would be looked after and not allowed to starve, and presently the old woman stopped crying, wiped her eyes, and got up to build herself a tiny hut, a shade of grass and branches.

That night, when darkness fell, when the moon rose blood red among the trees and the frogs in the pan began their singing, we were again sitting by our fire, again hosts to a good many visitors, when we heard high voices singing a medicine song. We stood up to look over the grass and saw a fire where no werf was, with five young girls around it singing, clapping a rhythm, their faces lit red by the fire and their backs lit palely by the moon. They were all alone there, far from their homes.

We asked our visitors if there was going to be a dance, which did not seem likely, everyone being in such low spirits, and those who wanted to dance said yes while those who didn't said no. Soon some little children joined the dance, though, among them Little Gashe and Little Dabe. Little

11:Marshall E-6 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

TREES AND SHRUBS of campsite provide convenient racks for family possessions, and even partial support for the sketchy *skerms* (screens) built in the dry winter, *above*, little more than bunches of grass caught on a few sticks.

342

[P.67]

137 Africa, these valleys once flowed—draining water from the high edges into the Basin. Now the sand has wandered into these valleys also.

132 There are four seasons in the Kalahari, two are brief. Winter begins in May and lasts through September. It is a healthful season. Of the foods available to gatherers in winter, roots are the most abundant. The earth is dry: the days are warm and clear, but cold in the shade; the nights are chill. Temperatures sink to 20° F. and below when the night wind turns, blowing from the antarctic south. On some hazeless nights, when the empty air seems insufficient protection from the cold of space, the morning ground will be wet with heavy dew. However, the smoke from a thousand African veld fires often thickens the skies of noon, reddens the setting sun and keeps the nights warmer and the earth dry.

At the end of September, clouds be-

FOR RAINY SEASON, the open-fronted grass shelters are more substantial.

[342]

[p. 8]

515
262

DELOUSING is a courtesy among kinsmen: the salty-tasting lice are eaten.

361
342

There are about 1,000 !Kung—gathered into 28 bands—who build their ephemeral camps, or *werft*'s, separately in an area of 10,000 square miles. The houses in the *werft*'s are of grass, pressed over a framework of sticks, making small quarter-shells, with their backs to the prevailing wind. Gossamer things, made of the same grass that sways and crowds against their doors, they are positioned in a loose pattern according to their occupants' kinship, and all are held—finally—by the headman, who builds his shelter under the tallest tree.

[622]

From a little distance, when the sound of voices is lost on the wind, one would not know a *werft* was near. The people never return to the same *werft*—preferring to build anew and saying it would not be safe from the spirits of the dead, or sanitary, to do so. Perhaps, also, they find it sad to see the little houses toppling, day by day, into the grass of the new year.

462 AS A STARTING POINT, labor among the !Kung is divided between two basic subsistence activities—hunting game and gathering *veldkos*. Men hunt, because their bodies are better suited to the chase. Women gather, because they could not leave their children for the long periods of hunting that men both enjoy and endure.

222 Women's work—the technology of gathering—is simple and adaptable: the tools are easily acquired, the methods quickly learned. The constant necessity to provide and the almost daily edge of effort slowly bends the

[p. 40]

142
301
516
[312]
[306]

[151]

FIG. 5. Old /Gam making ostrich egg-shell beads. Some cowrie shells from the South Seas (via New York) dangle among her ornaments

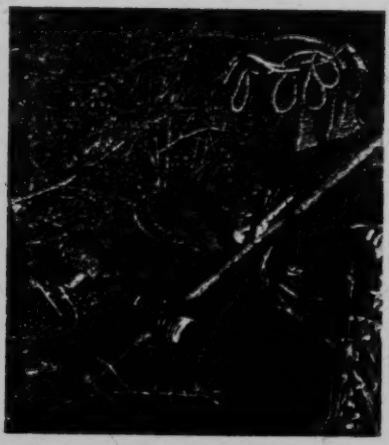


FIG. 6. Powers of observation are highly trained. This girl had seen, in the tangle of grass, a dry, hair-thin, brown vine stem which revealed that there was an edible root to be dug

342
516

[142]
[301]

FIG. 7. Talking in the afternoon

FIG. 8. ≠Toma laughing

[P. 240-B]

FIG. 13. One of the hunters (in the background) brings a hindquarter of meat to the owner of the arrow and lays it on branches beside his scherm

FIG. 14. Kham, a lame man, swings himself along with two sticks. He cannot hunt. Meat which some relatives or friends have given him hangs on the tree. His wife pounds some food with mortar and pestle

170. TOBIAS, Phillip
Les Bochimans Auen et Naron de Ghanzi contribution a L'etude des "anciens jaunes sud-Africaines". illus. map

L'Anthropologie. 59(3/4):235-252 Nov. 1955
Physical { 59(5/6):429-461 1955
Anthro. { 60 1/2 : 22-52 J. 1956.

171. TOBIAS, Phillip
On the survival of the Bushmen with an estimate of the problem facing anthropologists.
Afr. 26 (2): 174-185. 1956.

172. TOBIAS, Phillip V.
The Nuffield-Witwatersrand University expedition to the Kalahari Bushmen. 1958-1959.

Nature. 183: 1011-1013. April 11. 1949.

(Results of psychological and other tests).

173. TOBIAS, Phillip V.
Physique of a desert folk.
Natural History. 70 (2): 16-25. Feb. 1961.

(Deals with the physical anthropology of the Bushmen but illus. show social life and customs).

174. TOBIAS, Phillip V.
Provisional report on the Nuffield-Witwatersrand University Research expedition to the Kalahari Bushmen. August to September, 1958.
S. Afr. Jour. Sci. 55: 13-18. 1959.

175. TOERIEN, M. J.
Transvaal Bushmen: a preliminary note.
Leech. 25(2): 13-14. April, 1955.

(Gives some information on social life. Mainly physical anthropology).

176. TRENK, (Oberleutenant)
Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Rechts-und FamilienverhÄltnisse.
Mitt. deutg. Schuts. 23 (3): 166-170. 1910.

(Use of whistle signals in hunting).

177. VAN HOEPEN, Lv. E.C.N.
The Bushman and his culture.
S.A.M.A.D. 2(9): 217-221. 1941.

(Use of pots and stone-walled dwellings by Bushmen.

178. VAN REENEN, Reenen J.
Iets oor die Boesmankultuur: 'n lesing gehou voor die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie op Stellenbosch, Januarie, 1920 en gedruk op las van die Akademie Bloemfontein, 1920. Bloemfontein, 1920. 75. p. illus.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

342
585
516

A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

342
283

digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

372
594
213

The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

361
621
162
101
372

The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

361
221

The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

412
324

ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

342

L. Fourie

CRUDE BUSHMAN WINDSCREEN

PLATE VI

[facing p. 86]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

611 belong to the band of which their father is a member. But, as already
621 mentioned, there are certain cases among the Naron where both married sons and married daughters with their respective spouses and children are found living in the same band. It would throw much light on the structure of the band if we could know whether all these children are regarded as members of the band in which their parents are living, or whether some distinction is made between the children of the married sons on the one hand and those of the married daughters on the other. Without further research in the field, however, no definite statement can be made on this crucial point. There is also nothing to indicate whether people who are related or claim to be related in the male line, or again those who are related or claim to be related in the female line, are specially bound together by ties of a ceremonial, legal or economic nature. Whether further research, therefore, will show the bands of the North-Western Bushmen to be clans is problematical. The trend of the available data gives no clear indication either way.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 Moving about constantly as they do in the search for food, the
221 Bushmen build no permanent homes. More or less fixed villages are
[184] found only among the tribes living in the Okavango-Zambesi region, but even here there are distinct quarters for the winter (dry season) and for the summer (rainy season). During the dry season the Tannekwe live in the marsh lands of the Okavango basin, where they have small villages surrounded with palisades, after the style of their Bantu neighbours. In the rainy season, however, these become uninhabitable. The people then move out to villages on the edge of the surrounding plains, where they also have their hunting grounds. The Hukwe on the plains north-east of Lake Ngami live in similar villages during the rainy season, from which they scatter about in family groups in the dry season to hunt and collect.[1]

Everywhere else the encampments of the Bushmen are temporary.
361 The tribes formerly living in the mountainous regions of the south
342 and east often made their homes in caves and under rock-shelters, in which relics of their occupation may still be found. Even to-day the Namib Bushmen, during the latter part of the dry season, also live chiefly in caves or under overhanging rock-shelters on the high

[1] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296, 297.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink.

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3]

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */hais*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50–2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women 562 are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-/ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-/ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting 342 as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52.
[2] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

[1] Op. cit., 5.
[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.
[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.
[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem.

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the */naras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2]

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 393–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann, op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschileute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in [224]
those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred
out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint 136
them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have
buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the
body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The
mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not
dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 439
1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape,
which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and
other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for
show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and
uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the
incoming ships.[40])

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food 262
for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain
roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting 231
dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their 224
principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out
of their holes.

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. 721
They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get,
with which they then flee immediately to the mountains,
where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden
caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, 342
without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are 361
several thousand in number; for they move about from one
place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect
still others wherever they camp.

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of 291
the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a
quitazol or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about
the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning
of the sun's piercing rays.

---

had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was 136
very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind
from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were
flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes,
wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The
stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes
brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have
long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully
flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. 231
They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved
and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for 224
which they were mainly employed.